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MEMORANDUM FOR: Acting Director of Central Intelligence
VIA : Deputy Director (Plans) *W/RMB*
SUBJECT : Popular Unrest in the Soviet Ukraine

1. This memorandum is for information only, and is in response to a telephonic request from Mr. Walter Elder. The subject was raised in a recent informal discussion between the Director of Central Intelligence and the Director, United States Information Agency.

2. Ukrainian nationalism since World War II has taken different forms, and the question of its existence has been a subject of some controversy among Western observers. It is a fact, however, that the Soviet regime has gained from the West's disinterest in Ukrainian political aspirations. Moscow has sought to prove to the Ukrainians that they can maintain their national existence (note that the Ukraine has representation in the United Nations) only in partnership with the USSR. The Soviets have waged a vigorous campaign to this end not only among Soviet Ukrainians but among the Ukrainian emigration abroad as well.

3. Our contacts with Soviet citizens traveling abroad and with Soviet Ukrainians at home indicate that a Ukrainian nationalism indeed exists. This is especially so in the western (formerly Polish) Ukraine, among both the intelligentsia and the rural communities. The Ukrainians pretest the lack of Ukrainian language textbooks, restricted admissions of western Ukrainians into Soviet institutions of higher learning, and difficulties encountered by Ukrainians in gaining employment in the Ukraine. The Soviets have preferred to employ Ukrainians in Soviet Asia and in the Russian Republic itself. Soviet troops in the Ukraine are not of Ukrainian nationality, and Ukrainian military personnel must do their service elsewhere in the USSR.

4. The Ukraine also contributes heavily to the Soviet Union's industrial and technological production, but gets back less than its share in consumer goods. A source reported

SECRET

SECRET

in August 1961 that the Ukrainians are complaining that rural economic conditions have not been worse since World War II, that even wages are often not paid. To live many steal, and others live on packages sent from the United States, the contents of which they consume or sell.

5. There is further evidence of the Ukrainian thorn in the Soviet side. Several Ukrainian nationalist leaders living abroad have been assassinated, the most recent being the well known Stefan Bandera. We are aware of Soviet intelligence plans to do away with others. Within the past few months, there have been four cases of defection abroad by traveling Soviet Ukrainians. These are Sereda in Vienna, in July; Klotenko in Canada and Stashinskiy in Berlin, in mid-August; and Kravchenko in France, in late-August. Kravchenko committed suicide, leaving behind a defection note.

6. Resistance by Ukrainians goes on in other forms. One source has indicated that there is active collusion between highly placed Ukrainian intellectuals of the Communist Party in Lvov (USSR) and high-level Polish Communists, working together to minimize Moscow control over both the Ukraine and Poland.

7. We would see no objection to releasing the above information to the Director, USIA.


Acting Chief,
SR Division

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